

## Message Text

PAGE 01 TANANA 00852 01 OF 02 120544Z

21

ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 DODE-00 L-01 H-02 INR-05 PM-03

PRS-01 SP-02 NSCE-00 NSC-05 CIAE-00 OES-02 /040 W

----- 097024

R 100740Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY TANANARIVE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7251

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

CINCLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON ENG

COMIDEASTFOR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TANANARIVE 0852

LIMDIS

DEPT PASS DIA; CINCLANT AND CINCUSNAVEUR FOR POLADS

EO 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR PGOV PINT US MA

SUBJECT: FUTURE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN MADAGASCAR

SUMMARY: CHANCES ARE THAT PRO-WEST ANDRIAMAHAZO WILL EITHER HEAD OR CONTROL GOMR UNTIL 1977 ELECTIONS. RADICAL RATSIRAKA MAY BE ALLOWED HEAD NEW INTERIM GOVERNMENT, BUT ANDRIAMAHAZO SEEMS RESOLVED AT LAST KEEP CONTROL BEHIND SCENES. POTENTIAL RIVAL TO RATSIRAKA IS SOJA, APPARENT POLITICAL SUCCESSOR TO RATSIMANDRAVA. THOUGH NOT WIDELY KNOWN NOW, I THINK BY ELECTION IN 1977 SOJA MAY BE ABLE GIVE RATSIRAKA VERY GOOD RUN FOR HIS MONEY. US INTERESTS SEEM BEST SERVED BY CONTINUING SUPPORT ANDRIAMAHAZO NOW AND EVENTUALLY SOJA. END SUMMARY.

1. AS I DEPART MADAGASCAR FOR RETIREMENT, I AM SUMMARIZING BELOW MY ESTIMATE OF FUTURE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN MADAGASCAR AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR US INTERESTS:

2. PRESENT GOMR IS LIKELY BE ABLE NAVIGATE THROUGH  
SECRET

PAGE 02 TANANA 00852 01 OF 02 120544Z

CURRENT POLITICAL TRIAL AND ITS VERDICTS WITHOUT AROUSING SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL REACTION EITHER FROM COTIERS OR FROM PLATEAU STUDENTS AND UNEMPLOYED. ONE POSSIBLE COURSE OF ACTION TO SATISFY THESE TWO ANTITHETICAL GROUPS MAY BE

GUILTY VERDICTS AND SEVERE SENTENCES BY JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES, FOLLOWED SHORTLY BY EXECUTIVE CLEMENCY.

3. ASSUMING NO SECURITY REPERCUSSIONS FROM OUTCOME OF TRIALS, STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN PRESENT GOVERNMENT CAN BE EXPECTED ENSUE FAIRLY SOON. CUMBERSOME, UNWIELDY 18-MAN MILITARY DIRECTORY, FORMED FOR EMERGENCY SECURITY PURPOSES ON NIGHT OF ASSASSINATION OF CHIEF OF STATE COLONEL RATSIMANDRAVA, CANNOT CONTINUE INDEFINITELY BECAUSE OF ITS INEFFECTIVENESS AS INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT. AS MINISTER OF POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS LT COL RAKOTOMALALA COMMENTED WHEN I RAISED QUESTION WITH HIM LAST WEEK, IT IS HARD TO OPERATE WITH "18 CHIEFS OF STATE." PRESUMABLY SUCCESSOR GOVERNMENT WILL CONSIST OF SOMETHING CLOSE TO SINGLE HEAD, PLUS CABINET MINISTERS (SIMILAR IN STRUCTURE TO RAMANANTSOA AND RATSIMANDRAVA GOVERNMENTS). EXACT STRUCTURE IS PROBABLY NOT VERY RELEVANT TO US INTERESTS.

4. BUT WHO WILL HEAD OR CONTROL SUCCESSOR GOVERNMENT IS VERY RELEVANT TO OUR INTERESTS. CHAIRMAN, MILITARY DIRECTORY. GENERAL ANDRIAMAHAZO, IN MY LAST PRIVATE MEETING WITH HIM APRIL 24, WAS VERY AMBIVALENT ABOUT CONTINUING TO HEAD GOVERNMENT, BUT INDICATED HE WOULD AT LEAST KEEP HIMSELF IN POSITION TO EXERCISE ULTIMATE CONTROL OVER ANY SUCCESSOR GOVERNMENT HE DID NOT HEAD. IN SUBSEQUENT PRIVATE TALK WITH JAPANESE AMBASSADOR KAGAWA THIS WEEK, ANDRIAMAHAZO TOOK STRONGER LINE ABOUT HIS INTENTION GIVE UP TOP POSITION IN GOVERNMENT, BUT RETAIN DEFENSE MINISTRY AND CONTROL OF ARMED FORCES IN ORDER TO KEEP HIMSELF IN POSITION OF ULTIMATE CONTROL OVER "YOUNGER MAN" WHO WOULD HEAD GOVERNMENT. EXACTLY HOW HE WOULD INSURE CONTROL IS NOT CLEAR, AND HE APPEARS BE STILL EXPLORING VARIOUS DEVICES FOR THAT PURPOSE.

5. RADICAL, AMBITIOUS, OPPORTUNISTIC COMMANDER RATSIRAKA IS CHIEF RIVAL TO ANDRIAMAHAZO FOR POWER. LATTER'S TALK ABOUT TURNING OVER GOVERNMENT TO YOUNGER MAN, BUT RETAINING BEHIND-THE-SCENES POWER TO INSURE THAT GOVERNMENT DOES NOT  
SECRET

PAGE 03 TANANA 00852 01 OF 02 120544Z

VEER TOO FAR IN RADICAL DIRECTION, SOUNDS SUSPICIOUSLY AS THOUGH HE CONTEMPLATING ALLOWING RATSIRAKA TO HEAD SUCCESSOR GOVERNMENT. QUESTION WILL BE WHETHER ANDRIAMAHAZO CAN IN FACT KEEP RATSIRAKA UNDER CONTROL. LATEST EPISODE HAS BEEN ADDITIONAL MILITANTLY WORDED MESSAGES OF SUPPORT THIS WEEK BY RATSIRAKA, SIGNED AS "MEMBER OF MILITARY DIRECTORY IN CHARGE OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS," TO KHIEU SAMPHAN IN CAMBODIA AND VIET CONG IN VIETNAM. WHETHER RATSIRAKA IS ACTING MORE OR LESS UNILATERALLY TO TRY SHOW HIS STRENGTH, OR WHETHER ANDRIAMAHAZO IS ALLOWING HIM SOME SLACK AS SOP TO RADICALS, IS NOT CLEAR TO ME. WHEN I STATED DURING FORMAL FAREWELL CALL MAY 9 ON ANDRIAMAHAZO AND TWO OTHER MEMBERS OF MILITARY DIRECTORY THAT US-MALAGASY RELATIONS GOOD EXCEPT FOR CONTINUED

LABELLING OF US AS "IMPERIALIST" BY MEMBER OF DIRECTORY,  
ANDRIAMAHAZO REPLIED IN FRONT OF TWO DIRECTORY COLLEAGUES THAT  
US BACK IS BROAD AND STRONG ENOUGH TO WITHSTAND SUCH FLEABITES\*

6. POTENTIAL RIVAL TO RATSIRAKA IS MAJOR SOJA, MINISTER OF  
RURAL DEVELOPMENT, WHO CONSIDERS HIMSELF POLITICAL SUCCESSOR  
TO LATE COLONEL RATSIMANDRAVA. HE IS NOT YET WIDELY ENOUGH  
KNOWN TO CHALLENGE RATSIRAKA EFFECTIVELY, BUT IN RECENT WEEKS  
HAS OBVIOUSLY BEGUN PUBLIC CAMPAIGN TO GET HIMSELF IDENTIFIED  
WITH INTERNAL POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.  
HE NEEDS SEASONING IN EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, AND I HOPE HE CAN BE  
GOTTEN TO US ON CU GRANT DURING FY 76.

SECRET

PAGE 01 TANANA 00852 02 OF 02 120531Z

21

ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 DODE-00 L-01 H-02 INR-05 PM-03

PRS-01 NSCE-00 NSC-05 CIAE-00 OES-03 /039 W

----- 096991

R 100740Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY TANANARIVE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7252

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

CINCLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON ENG

COMIDEASTFOR

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 TANANARIVE 0852

LIMDIS

DEPT PASS DIA; CINCLANT AND CINCUSNAVEUR FOR POLADS

7. MAJOR ANDRIAMAHOLISON, MINISTER OF INFORMATION, IS ALSO  
POLITICALLY AMBITIOUS, BRIGHT AND REPORTEDLY OPPORTUNISTIC.  
BUT OPINION, EVEN AMONG MERINA, IS INCREASINGLY DEVELOPING  
THAT NEXT GOVERNMENT LEADER OF MADAGASCAR (AFTER RAMANANTSOA,  
RATSIMANDRAVA, AND CURRENTLY ANDRIAMAHAZO -- ALL MERINA)  
SHOULD BE A COTIER, AND THIS WOULD EXCLUDE ANDRIAMAHOLISON,  
A MERINA.

8. MAIN PURPOSE OF SUCCESSOR GOVERNMENT TO MILITARY DIRECTORY  
WILL BE TO PREPARE CONSTITUTION AND ELECTIONS FOR 1977, END  
OF 5-YEAR TRANSITIONAL PERIOD PROVIDED BY REFERENDUM LAW  
OF 1972. AS OF NOW, POLITICAL PARTIES SEEM UNLIKELY TO BE  
ALLOWED TO RUN CANDIDATES THEN. ELECTORAL SYSTEM WILL  
PROBABLY PROVIDE FOR RUN OFF (IN FRENCH STYLE) IF NO

CANDIDATE GETS CLEAR MAJORITY. MAIN CANDIDATES SEEM LIKELY BE RATSIRAKA (BACKED MAINLY BY AKFM) AND SOJA (PROBABLY BACKED BY MAJORITY OF COTIERS AND PERHAPS BY MANY PLATEAU PEASANTS). IF RATSIRAKA HEADS INTERIM GOVERNMENT, HE MAY HAVE SOME ADVANTAGE AS INCUMBENT, BUT SOJA, WITH HIS STRESS  
SECRET

PAGE 02 TANANA 00852 02 OF 02 120531Z

ON INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT, MAY WELL BE ABLE OVERCOME THAT ADVANTAGE.

9. IMPLICATIONS FOR US: WITH ANDRIAMAHAZO IN CONTROL DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, PROSPECTS APPEAR REASONABLY GOOD FOR CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF NASA STATION, AT LEAST UNTIL 1977. IF WE CULTIVATE SOJA (AS I RECOMMEND), THEY MAY WELL BE GOOD EVEN AFTER THAT. I AM NOT SANGUINE, HOWEVER, ABOUT POSSIBILITY FOR RESUMPTION OF US NAVAL VISITS TO MADAGASCAR. FUTURE PRIVATE AMERICAN INVESTMENT IN MADAGASCAR SHOULD BE TESTED UNDER PROSPECTIVE SUCCESSOR REGIMES. WHILE ANY MALAGASY GOVERNMENT NOW SEEMS COMMITTED TO SOME KIND OF COLLECTIVE APPROACH TO BASIC AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND MARKETING, IT MAY BE POSSIBLE FOR PRIVATE CAPITAL, FOREIGN AND MALAGASY, TO DEVELOP MAJOR PROJECTS (LIKE FERTILIZER OR CEMENT PLANTS OR COAL DEPOSITS) REQUIRING LARGE AMOUNTS OF CAPITAL IN COLLABORATION WITH MALAGASY GOVERNMENT PARTICIPATION.  
MENDENHALL

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 26 AUG 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLICIES, POLITICAL SITUATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 10 MAY 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975TANANA00852  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** D750165-0263  
**From:** TANANARIVE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t197505100/baaaadze.tel  
**Line Count:** 193  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION AF  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 16 MAY 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <16 MAY 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <19 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** n/a  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PGOV, PINT, US, MA  
**To:** STATE  
NAIROBI  
PARIS  
CINCLANT NORFOLK VA  
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON ENG  
COMIDEASTFOR

**Type:** TE

**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006